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AUTHOR Schmuck, Patricia A.
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ABSTRACT

Since the turn of the century women have predominated as professionals in public schools, yet women have never held parity with men in management. Educational institutions are deprived of the leadership skill and competence of people who happen to be female. In addition, children are faced daily with sex-typed role models that influence their career aspirations and perpetuate the cycle. This chapter from "Women and Educational Leadership: A Reader," edited by Sari Knapp Bichlen and Marilyn Brannigan, is about one attempt to reduce the barriers that exclude women from educational leadership. The Sex Equity in Educational Leadership Project (SEEL) at the University of Oregon has attempted to develop a multilevel system model for changing women's role in educational leadership. This chapter has three sections: a description of the current context for changing women's roles in schools and in society, a review of explanations from social science theory and data, and a description of the SEEL project with recommendations about what other states can do to increase the number of women as educational managers. (Author/MLF)

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CHANGING WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN SCHOOL MANAGEMENT: A SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVE

By Patricia A. Schmuck
Project Director
Sex Equity in Educational Leadership Project*
Center for Educational Policy and Management
University of Oregon

A chapter in Women and Educational Leadership: A Reader, edited by Sari Knapp Bichlen and Marilyn Brannigan, July 1978.

In the best of all possible worlds the leaders of our nation's schools would be selected on the basis of their leadership skills. But in our real world leadership skill does not appear to be as salient as our collective biases about the kinds of people that should take the role of educational leader. The facts are clear about what we collectively value; the prototypic school administrator is male, white, married for the first time, has children, is Protestant, and poltically conservative (Carlson, 1972; AASA, 1960). Since these attributes are true of such a majority of school administrators we may also assume that they serve as criteria in selecting administrators.

While it may be the case that many of these characteristics portray a majority of educators in the United States, it is not true that the majority of educators are male. Since the turn of the century women have predominated as professionals in our public schools, yet women have never held parity with men in management.

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What do we know of those few women administrators who, ipso facto, do not fulfill the most visible attribute for a career in educational administration--that of being male? Susan Paddock investigated the characteristics of women who were superintendents, associate superintendents, and high school principals in the U.S. to see whether they were like or unlike their male counterparts (1977, 1978). She found that women, albeit only about 2% representation, were more diverse in their ethnicity, religious affiliation, politics, marital status, and parenthood than the entire population of male administrators. Paddock concluded that sex is the most obvious criteria in the selection of administrators. Once the criteria of maleness is set aside, the other attributes which typify the male administrator do not seem to hold for women.

Paddock's results are particularly interesting when we consider our public schools serve the most diverse population of any social institution in the United States. Yet policy decisions and management are centered in the hands of a homogenous group. Not only are policy decisions made by an unrepresentative group, over half of our potential leaders are ignored because of their sex. Educational institutions are deprived of the leadership skill and competence of people who happen to be female and several studies comparing male and female elementary school principals indicate women are as effective if not superior leaders (Meskin, 1974; Gross and Trask, 1976). Our schools cannot afford to waste such talent. In addition, our children are faced daily with sex-typed role models which influence their career aspirations and perpetuate the cycle. For the sake of our schools, our professionals,

and our students, we must reduce the barriers which exclude women from educational leadership. This chapter is about one attempt to reach that objective.

Jacqueline Clement, in this volume and elsewhere (1977), has described the obstacles facing women in educational administration (see also Taylor, 1973; Howard, 1975; Schmuck, 1976). The end result is clear; women are invisible as leaders of our public schools. Why are the leaders of a female-dominated profession predominately male? The readings in this book offer a variety of answers. Family roles, different socialization, role models, attitudes, overt and subtle discrimination in graduate schools and in the field, different career aspirations, and women's general lack of power and influence in the society all offer potent and accurate explanations of women's underrepresentation in school management. Differential expectations and rewards for males and females exist within our psyches, our institutions, our formal policies, and in the norms and folkways of our society. Changing women's role in educational leadership will require making changes on all these fronts; the Sex Equity in Educational Leadership Project (SEEL) at the University of Oregon has attempted to develop a multilevel system model of change and has addressed each of these levels of social reality.

This chapter has three sections: (1) a description of the current context for changing women's roles in schools and in society, (2) a review of explanations from social science theory and data, and (3) a description of the SEEL Project with recommendations about what other states can do to increase the number of women as educational managers.

The Context for Change

In this decade there has been a surge of interest about the decline of women administrators in the U.S. (Neidig, 1976; McClure, 1974). While it is true that fewer women hold administrative positions today than they did only two decades ago, we should not lose sight of the fact that women have never held parity with men in the management of our nation's schools. It is obvious that the current surge of interest in women's roles in schools is prompted by a rebirth of a feminist ideology. The current women's movement has provided a spark for women educators to investigate their positions within our schools and has added fuel to the fire of change. Gribskov, in an earlier chapter in this volume, points out that women's past active involvement in schools in the West was during a time when there was a feminist consciousness and an active women's movement. Women held positions of influence such as superintendencies and principalships in the West when they also held positions of influence in other spheres of community life. A feminist ideology supported women in education as well as other segments of the community.

Although some women who hold administrative positions in the public schools do not see themselves as feminists and some even apologize or disassociate themselves from the more active "troublemakers," the rebirth of a feminist consciousness cannot be separated from changes which are occurring in our schools. Women administrators and women who aspire to be administrators today live in a time which includes Title IX, consciousness raising groups, the word "sexist" (even if it is said with a resounding guffaw),

active coalitions of professional women, students blazing new pathways, an increased interest in girls' athletics, women in trade unions, and federal funds directed at achieving educational equity. Today, in some schools, it is legitimate and even acceptable to discuss "women's role" in the classroom or in the teacher's lounge. This is not to conclude that the obstacles to women's careers in educational administration have been removed or sex biases eliminated, quite the contrary. The obstacles and the biases remain but we have arrived at a state of consciousness far different from 1963 when Betty Friedan named "the problem that has no name."

Our current enlightenment is an important backdrop for changing women's roles in education; the ideology of feminism is a necessary precondition for making substantive sex role changes in schools. We can see too well what happened to women during World War II; daycare was provided, restrictions against married women teachers were abolished and women took over the tasks of leadership in the schools, the factories, and the communities. Women's increased participation in those days, however, did not arise because of a feminist consciousness; women worked because the men were absent. When the men returned from the wars, women returned to the kitchen (Freeman, 1975; Oakley, 1974; Mitchell, 1974). Women's lack of participation in educational management is not an isolated phenomenon. Sexism is a social disease. Women's lack of representation in school management is only one symptom of women's second class status in the society. In this chapter, however, I will offer diagnoses and some solutions for one symptom of social sexism--women in school management.

Some Explanations for Sex Inequity in School Administration

Several social scientists have pointed out the masculine bias of researchers in investigating and interpreting research on sex roles (Huber, 1973; Rossi, 1970). Some authors suggest a more insidious relationship such as Weisskopf, who said the "natural and social sciences have, out of self interest, hubris, and ignorance, participated in the systematic oppression of women" (1970). For whatever reasons, questions are being raised today about the "facts" of sex roles. One illustration of this new awareness is a comparison between Eleanor Maccoby's excellent book published in 1966, and Maccoby and Jacklin's 1975 book, The Psychology of Sex Differences. A concept such as female dependency, which was assumed to be a fact of life in 1966, is being questioned only nine years later. Although research on sex roles is in its infancy, there are some theories which are helpful toward understanding the role of women in society and in schools.

In the following sections a cursory review of the explanations from the social sciences will be offered as an attempt to diagnose why women are underrepresented in school management.

The Individual Perspective: Families, Aspirations and Behavior. In his inimitable fashion of combining psychology with common sense, Charles Schultz in his Peanuts cartoon portrayed one aspect of the psychology of women. Sally, at age five, concludes, "I never said I wanted to Be somebody. . . All I want to do when I grow up is to be a good wife and mother. So. . . why would I have to go to kindergarten?" Whether one adopts a psychoanalytic view and maintains that anatomy is destiny, a cultural conditioning point of

view, or a more sociological view, family roles serve as one important deterrent to women in educational management. Women leave the profession for child bearing, their physical location is often dependent upon a husband's job, they often lack the opportunity to pursue advanced training, and many women view their educational careers as "insurance." All these reasons conspire to make many women educators have short-sighted career goals. Whereas there are no longer the restrictions placed on married women working and most women in education are married, the conflicting roles of wife, mother and professional serve to limit women's aspirations; many women assume low responsiblity positions so they can successfully fulfill their other important roles.

Yet marriage is not the sole reason to explain women's career aspirations or attainment. Women, regardless of marital status, as compared to men, do not aspire or reach positions of influence and responsibility. There have been numerous studies documenting the failure of women to fulfill their intellectual potential. As Lois Hoffman points out, "The explanations for this are so plentiful that one is almost tempted to ask why women achieve at all" (1972).

Girls are brought up to behave and aspire differently than boys; their early academic achievement excels boys in elementary school and shifts in adolescence and into high school and college. If girls continue to excel academically they do so in female appropriate areas. Girls' motive for affiliation often surpasses their wish for achievement, the classic example being, "If I do too well, who will ask me to the Prom?" The conflict between affiliation and achievement is experienced by many females in our society.

Although the research on women's "fear of success" has had contradictory findings (Condry and Dyer, 1976), it is clear that many women in education have different career aspirations than men. Most women have not considered becoming an administrator; males are the role models and women's experiences in public schools and universities serve to perpetuate these traditional roles. Even when women achieve positions of leadership and influence there are conflicting expectations. Whereas men are expected to wield power directly, women are to be indirect; whereas it is legitimate for a man to exercise influence over adults, women should be in charge of students. Women have not only avoided positions where power and influence must be wielded directly and openly but when they achieve such positions there is conflict between the role expectations of being a woman and of being an administrator (Johnson, 1976).

The explanations from psychological research are useful to understand women's absence in educational management. They are limited, however. Our individual attitudes and aspirations are in part carved out by society. The norms, folkways, and traditions of society are equally important to explain women's absence in management.

The Social Perspective: Men's Work and Women's Work. Maccoby and Jacklin in their impressive compendium reviewing over 1600 psychological studies pertaining to sex differences conclude that societies have the option to maximize or minimize differences between males and females. Our society has opted to maximize the differences. The sexes are clearly segregated in the labor force and education; furthermore, the work that women do has lower prestige and pay than the work performed by men.

Women's paid work has not changed appreciably since the turn of the century; those fields where women were represented in 1900 are the fields where women are represented today; nurses, private household workers,clerical workers,and elementary teachers. Female workers are increasingly entering occupations which are predominately female, or enter new occupations which are designated as female (Oppenheimer, 1973; Oakley, 1974; Smuts, 1971; Blau, 1975). The labor force is clearly segregated by sex and these facts are a prelude to understanding the sex segregation in education which has been a predominantly female occupation since the Civil War.

Education, like the labor force, is sharply defined by sex. Yet the field of education has undergone significant changes in its sex composition. The male school master prevailed until the Civil War when the profession began changing toward accepting women as teachers. As the bureaucracy of education grew, the social ideology shifted from why women should not be teachers to why women should be teachers; women were cheaper and they were more "nurturant, and more amenable to bureaucratic rules and supervision" (Strober and Tyack, 1978). Thus, in the 19th Century, the sex composition of the educational work force changed, and it began changing again after World War II, when men increasingly entered education. Today men and women are nearly equally represented in the field of education. However, when one delves more deeply the fact is clear that women and men hold different positions in schools; the profession is segregated by sex.

At the federal level, the Office of Education and the National Institute of Education employ a majority of women as civil servants, yet women remain

a distinct minority at the higher levels (Steiger and Szanton, 1977). School boards include only about 20% of women (NSBA, 1976) and in public schools most women are elementary teachers. In high schools women and men teachers are fairly evenly represented, yet they are clearly segregated by subject matter and heads of departments tend to be male whether or not it is a male or female predominated subject field (Kane, 1976). Of course, the most apparent discrepancy in men's work and women's work in school is found in management. Although in 1972-73 women comprised about 62% of the professional staff, 99% of the superintendents, 98% of high school principals, and 80% of elementary principals were men (Fishel and Pottker, 1974). When women are administrators they typically peform a staff position; about 35% of staff positions are filled by women. Yet one study showed that most women in staff functions provide services and resources for students; quasi-line supervisory positions are held by men. When this difference is considered men actually occupy about 85% of staff positions (Schmuck, 1976).

Futhermore, "women's work" has lower pay and lower social prestige and value than "men's work." Harriet Holter (1970) suggests there is a direct correlation between the prestige of an occupation and its sex composition. Male dominated professions are more prestigeful than female dominated professions; when a man is a kindergarten teacher people believe it is more prestigeful than when a woman holds the position (Touhey, 1974). Woman's pay is also about $3,000 lower than men's throughout all occupations holding education and experience constant (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1976). The folkways and norms of the society coincide with different socialization

patterns and channel women and men into different areas of work which are assigned differential pay and status.

The Organizational Perspective: Sexual Politics. These psychological and sociological facts maintain women's second class status which is also reflected in our organizations. Most institutions in our country include both male and female workers; within organizations, however, men generally hold the more influential positions. Some social scientists are exploring the dynamics of male and female relationships in work settings. When a man is the boss, he holds more power over workers than when a woman is a boss by virtue of power invested in his sex (Acker and Van Houten, 1974). This fact influences many work relationships. In mixed sex groups the task leaders tend to be men and women defer to male leadership (Lockheed and Hall, 1976). Women are more often in dead-end positions within an organization; are more often dissatisfied with their positions and engage in behaviors which are not advantageous to their advancement (Kantor, 1976); competent women are often discriminated against because they are threatening (Hagan and Kahn, 1975), and subtle interpersonal behaviors such as using diminuatives such as "girls" or "honey" and the use of physical touch from a male superordinate tends to reduce the already inferior status of females (Henley and Freeman, 1974). Because one's sex is such an important factor in the society, relationships are affected by the sex of interacting people.

One illustration of males' social superiority was supplied by a female elementary school principal who ebulliently described her school where teachers, parents and students actively participated in decisions and

governance. One year she had a study leave and a male teacher was the acting principal. She and he were very frustrated. It seemed all the involvement was difficult to maintain even though the male acting principal agreed with the participatory leadership style. When crises occurred the female teachers came to him and said, "You decide." Females in subordinate positions often defer to a man because of the male power role in the society. Women expect men to make decisions. Within organizations, such as schools, there are subtle and blatent interpersonal processes based on stereotyped roles which inevitably influence the relationship between male and female workers.

Achieving Sex Equity in Educational Leadership

In order to achieve equity between men and women in school management, we must change the sex stereotypes that exist within our psyches, our institutions, policies, and our relationships. It will take no less than that. The Sex Equity in Educational Leadership Project at the University of Oregon has attempted to make changes on all these fronts. We think changes will occur only if the relationships between all involved actors are changed; it is a project geared at multiple levels of social change.

The SEEL Project is funded by the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA) from 1976 to 1979. Congressional funding of WEEA itself serves as an important change in federal priorities. WEEA provided the first crack in the federal bureaucracy concerning women's educational equity and yearly funds about 80 projects. Women's interests are now represented at the federal

level along with the demands of oil interests, farmers, consumers, and small business people. SEEL was created to develop and test strategies in Oregon to increase women's representation in school management.

Of course, change is a complex process; a strategy for change is based on values, assumptions about human nature, and decisions about effective strategies. From the outset of the SEEL Project, we believed no single strategy would suffice; activities were carried out to affect changes in individuals, institutions and formal as well as informal policies. Although at the time of this writing, the project is still in operation and evaluation is incomplete, some data and impressions exist about effective and uneffective change strategies. A more detailed description and evaluation will be published in 1979 (see SEEL). In the following sections, I will describe some of the activities designed to change individual perspectives and organizational procedures.

Changing Individuals' Perspectives: Providing Information, Making the Issue Visible, and Attacking Negative Stereotypes. Providing information to develop awareness is a powerful strategy for changing individual perspectives. It is certainly not a new concept. The use of information as power in developing awareness is the bedrock of many change strategies. The SEEL Project envisioned two major audiences who needed to be informed: women who might aspire to become administrators and practicing administrators who held negative stereotypes about women's capability. It was found, however, these two audience demanded quite different strategies.

1. Providing information: We relied primarily on the development of products to increase people's information and awareness about the sex imbalance in administration; a quarterly newsletter sent to about 1500 educators, a slide-tape show, presentations at state conferences, visibility through the media, a yearly state conference on sex equity, a university class, and a book were ways we informed people about the issue. Most educators in Oregon are probably appraised of the fact that there are only a few women in educational leadership. That is an important first step. There are now several products developed by SEEL, as well as other projects, for people to use in other states; the SEEL products are listed at the end of the chapter.

Our efforts to inform fell on fertile soil with women especially. Information about "women's role" caused many women to review their career plans in education. Female participation in degree programs, certification programs and application for jobs has increased. Whereas in 1975 there had been a total of nine females who had graduated with a doctorate in Educational Administration, in 1978 there are 16 females who comprise about half of the student body. The number of women applying for administrative positions has also increased; our best guess is that women represented about 4% of the applicant pool for administrative positions in 1975; our tentative 1978 figures show this has increased to 15%.

Equity will be achieved in administration when the composition of the applicant pool is equitable. An important audience to reach in change projects are the potential aspirants. Information is a powerful source of

change; public recognition of facts serve as a motivator, especially for women who are teachers, who are university students, or who are in quasi-administrative positions in schools; they are armed with information to ask themselves, "Am I doing what I want to do, or am I fulfilling my 'female' role?"

Advice I offer others attempting to reach potential aspirants is to remember this is an individual change strategy. There will be no recognizable drove of individuals who will collectively march toward the gates of administration. One of our members, for instance, made a presentation at a conference and only three women showed up. She was, of course, disappointed, yet two of the women are exploring the possibilities of pursuing a degree in educational administration. Although it is a tautology, it is important to remember individual changes happen on an individual basis. A woman's questioning and searching for her particular role in education is an important aspect of achieving sex equity.

2. Visibility of Role Models: Another important factor for women is the visiblity of role models. The literature on socialization is clear about the importance of role models for people who are searching for their niche in the occupational world. Many women who had "fallen into" an administrative position said they had never consciously aspired to become an administrator because the role models were men. Women and men and boys and girls must see women capably functioning as administrators. Because women are such a minority in these positions, women who are administrators must take on the added responsibility for counseling and preparing women who could capably perform as leaders.

The importance of women to serve as role models and counselors for other women is illustrated by our own example. The visibility of the SEEL Project along with my appointment as the only female in the Department of Educational Administration was indeed an influence on many women at career junctures. Many women have asked questions such as, "What is it like in class," "Do professors still tell sexist jokes," "How much support will I find," " What is the feeling among male students?" I have been asked questions by women that none of the male faculty members have been asked. In the past year, I have talked with over 30 women who were exploring the possibility of coming back to the university or thinking about different job placements. When asked, several of these women said they probably would not have asked such questions of the male professors. While I believe the males on our faculty would have been receptive to their questions, the point is that potential female students would not have approached a male as readily as they did a female.

Although I expect the number of female graduate students in educational administration is increasing everywhere, I hypothesize a positive correlation between the numbers of female students and the presence of women on the faculty. The UCEA Directory of Women Professors in Educational Administration includes 73 names for the United States. While the number of women professors of educational administration will probably not increase dramatically in a short time, it is critically important for the few women who hold such positions to be <u>visible and available</u> to other women. The availability and visibility of women in higher education as role models and career counselors is important for women's future in administration.

School districts also have the responsibility for providing career information and advice for women at career junctures. Gross and Trask point out that women more often than men require encouragement and support to enter administration (1976). Some school districts are instituting intern programs to help women gain valuable administrative experience. Women who hold administrative positions within school districts must be visible and accessible to other women; they must make formal and explicit the kinds of training to women that men often experience informally.

On the other side of the coin, women who aspire to become administrators must actively seek mentors. One woman teacher, upon hearing of this suggestion, reported to SEEL that she had returned to her school district, set up a meeting with her male principal and male superintendent, and said, "I want to become an administrator; will you help prepare me?" They provided support and help for her to work toward her goal.

Women who are administrators must be accessible to women aspirants, and women who aspire to become administrators must formally and actively seek mentors--male or female.

3. Attacking Negative Stereotypes: Women do not hold administrative positions in the public schools in part because of negative stereotypes about women's capability. The view is that women are emotionally unstable, are not fiscally responsible, cannot discipline boys, are indecisive and cannot exercise leadership. Men are the gatekeepers to the sacrosanct chambers of administration and some of these men hold such negative views of women's capability. The SEEL Project attempted to counter such negative attitudes. Generally, our direct efforts were unsuccessful.

During 1976-1977, many SEEL activities were aimed toward predominately male audiences of administrators. We were essentially made fun of or ignored. We were outsiders and held no legitimate power to influence attitudes. We were not credible (French and Raven, 1958).

For instance, one woman elementary principal who is a feminist and aspires to high positions in Oregon, talked with me at length in the hallway of a hotel where we were attending a Title IX Conference. She said, "It's a good thing we're not at a regular administrator's conference. If I were seen talking with you, I'd lose all my credibility." I believe her assessment was accurate. SEEL had been typecast and we had no access to change negative stereotypes among practicing administrators. This learning was dramatically illustrated when four members of our staff prepared an elaborate presentation for the 1977 American Association of School Administrators in Las Vegas. We gave a party and nobody came. Late at night, in a Las Vegas motel room, we decided to shift our emphasis. We needed to reach women who are inside the system; they could pressure for change on their own behalf.

Women administrators and teachers hold potential bases of influence with their colleagues who hold negative views about women's capability. Whereas the SEEL Project could be ignored or dismissed, a female peer could not be so quickly ignored or dismissed. A debate of "whether women can discipline high school boys" is most appropriately confronted by a woman who performs such a function and not with an abstract argument by an outsider. A woman who holds an administrative position and talks about

the unfair or unjust treatment of girls and women has more credibility than an outside group, which may be dismissed as a "troublemaking women's lib group." This idea was reinforced by the Executive Director of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) who addressed the National Council of Administrative Women in Education (NCAWE) in Las Vegas in 1977. He said that women cannot expect men in power to take up the banner for women. Women must do it for themselves. Those who hold the power will not willingly give it up; women must be the inspiration for changes in their own lives. This, again, is not a major learning; the most effective social movements such as unions and civil rights have involved those whose lives are directly affected. But individual attitudes are only one aspect of change; organizational policies and procedures also serve as obstacles to women's entry and advancement in administration.

Changing Organizational Perspectives: Getting Organized, Including Male Allies, Getting Hired, and Dealing With Isolation at the Top. Despite individual consciousness of women's role in education, organizational problems must be faced. To change women's role in education women must become organized, they must learn the political channels, and they must get hired. Finally, women who are entering jobs which have been traditionally male have to face their inevitable isolation.

1. Getting Organized: The women's movement is having a social impact because diverse groups of women with different axes to grind and different problems to solve have coalesced into a critical mass to demand change. That is not to say the women's movement is a monolithic organization or has a

singular voice. It is a diverse movement; its unity is in tackling the variety of problems suffered by women. Women in education, like women everywhere, must organize and work toward change. Women administrators, who Paddock showed were a diverse population, need to interact with other women administrators and women who aspire to become administrators need opportunities for interaction with each other and women who have "made it." For these reasons, the Oregon Women in Educational Administration (OWEA) was formed and its primary purpose is to support and encourage women who are or want to be administrators.

The conception of OWEA occurred in 1977; about 30 women and five men attending the Confederation of Oregon School Administrators (COSA, the AASA state affiliate) Conference held a two-hour women's caucus. The time was right for women educators to share their collective concern although some women attending COSA were shocked by such "militancy." A small steering committee was formed and in 1978 a full day conference was held. Two hundred people attended the First Annual Conference of Oregon Women in Educational Administration. A steering committee of regional representatives was selected and tentative by-laws were passed. This year will be a critical year for the organization; the energy and momentum is certainly present.

Another purpose of OWEA is to serve as an advocate for women. Many women in schools and in corporate life believe their careers would be jeopardized by becoming a woman's advocate. Women's issues in schools vie with other important priorities such as budget, curriculum, staffing and student achievement. Women administrators must grapple with all the problems of

schools in addition to tackling the problem of sexism. A strong organization, like any other professional organization, can take on issues and causes which do not reflect negatively on any individual. Comparable organizations have been formed in Washington and California. Organizational strength at the local, state and national level is a necessary political strategy to counteract the barriers women face.

2. Including Male Allies: Although women themselves must take the initiative in counteracting negative attitudes and getting themselves organized, it would be unjust to portray the sympathizers and the detractors of women's issues as female and male. There are females who believe women should not be administrators and deprecate their femaleness and there are males who have transcended rigid sex typing. There have always been male allies in the feminist cause. All important sex discrimination legislation passed has involved men at some levels. In Oregon and in other states there are men who care deeply about the damaging effects of sex stereotypes for women, for students, and for themselves.

SEEL has made deliberate efforts to include men in our work; we believe a change strategy to achieve equity in a male dominated field must include men. First, because the ultimate goal is to surpass distinctions on the basis of sex we cannot model discrimination within our own change strategy. Second, it is primarily men who hold positions of influence and power.

Many SEEL activities could not have been carried out without men using their influence to further the objectives of equity. One man who served on a state board influenced the board to change the administrative require-

ment to include course work on equal employment. The director of our center accompanied me to several meetings involving sensitive negotiations; it was clear I would not have been a credible actor without his presence and his sanctions. Women by virtue of their inferior status in the society are often ignored; a male who holds a position of influence is an important ally in the political process. Men are the gatekeepers to the profession and some of them impede progress toward equity, yet equity will become a reality in employment and education only through the deliberate efforts of males and females working to abolish sex typing.

3. Getting Hired: Consciousness, organization and developing male allies is necessary. However, the real test of whether these strategies work is whether women are hired. One reason women are not administrators is because the formal and informal processes of selection serve as deterrents in job entry. The "old boys" network has received much notoriety in education and other professional fields. Following the model set up by Timpano (1976) the SEEL Project formed the Oregon Network, a research and service activity, to offset the informal and exclusive impact of the "old boys" network. The research effort included documenting all administrative vacancies and changes in Oregon's K-12 schools for one year. We are interested in answering three questions: (1) How many administrative changes or vacancies occur? (2) Who applies for those positions? and (3) Who gets the jobs?

The information is gathered by six field coordinators who contact every school district in Oregon; they follow up visits to districts with vacancies to document the process of recruitment, screening and selection.

Data is gathered on all applicants and where they were cut out of the screening process. The Oregon Network is primarily an information gathering device; it is to find out where vacancies occur and how they are filled.

With some persistence the research effort was finally endorsed by the executive board of COSA;we believed their sanction was critical to achieve school district cooperation. It was clear that we were not a compliance agency and only two small school districts have not provided us with information. Although we had brainstormed various tactics to deal with resistant school districts, the field coordinators, by and large, had positive experiences in the field. In fact, many small district administrators felt lonely and isolated in their positions and welcomed someone to talk with. Because we had no compliance function some school districts engaged help from the field coordinators to write their affirmative action policies or revise their hiring procedures. Several administrators have been working with us to attempt to keep the Oregon Network in operation; they believe the face to face contact and the assistance of the field coordinators was a valuable service.

In June, 1978, about 150 administrative positions have been documented which include information on the sex, age, race and qualifications of over 2,000 applicants. The incomplete and tentative figures show that 356 or 15% of the applications have come from females; 2,083 or 85% of the applications have come from males. Ninety-one or 76% of the hirees so far are male, and 28 or 24% of the hirees are female. The final report of the Oregon Network will include information on the types of positions for which males and females were hired and the process of the district's hiring.

The service functions of the Oregon Network include a directory of job vacancies and a directory of administrative candidates. The directory of candidates provided a concrete solution to the problem raised by many school administrators who said, "But I can't find a woman to hire." A directory of women and men who are looking for administrative positions is available. Over one-third of the currently sampled people in the directory indicated they had been contacted by a school district about openings. In Oregon, there are many small school districts who have neither staff nor money to engage in systematic recruitment efforts and the directory appears useful. The Oregon Network helps make open and inclusive the usually closed and exclusive system of administrative recruitment and selection.

Although at this writing the data are still incomplete, there are enough examples to know the "old boy's network"is not a perverted image of fanatic feminists. Administrative selection is sometimes informal and exclusive. In some school districts, jobs are not publically announced, deadlines for applications are open only a few days, some jobs have only one applicant, screening committees are stacked, and it appears that some women are interviewed as tokens for affirmative action requirements. There is also evidence of some school districts providng equal opportunities; they actively recruit minorities and women, they seriously consider what experiences are needed for the job (many jobs require administrative experience--this is often the Catch-22 of many women entering administration), and they take seriously their affirmative action policies. The district information will be aggregated and the characteristics of districts which one might expect will take equal employment or affirmative action seriously will be identified.

There is one indirect potential impact of the Oregon Network. Although the gathering of basic information was the principle activity, as all researchers know and fear the research itself may serve as an influencing variable. The "Hawthorne Effect," noted in the classic study by Roethlisberger and Dickson in 1939, illustrated the confounding effects of the researcher's presence. While indeed the Hawthorne effect may be a problem for rigorous research designs, such an effect is desirable in a social action project such as SEEL. Should school district feel obligated or compelled to search for and hire women because of the data gathering attempts of SEEL, it is a desirable outcome. I firmly believe the model of the Oregon Network is worthy of replication elsewhere, and our final report will offer concrete suggestions on how to implement such a plan.

4. Isolation at the Top: Bonding and Advocacy: The SEEL Project has been devoted to increasing the number of women who enter administrative positions. It is clear, however, that the problem does not stop there. Male administrators often point out it is "lonely at the top" (Jackson, 1977). Women administrators are even lonelier. Women administrators are a minority and face unique problems. They sit across from the bargaining table from the majority of their same sex teachers and hold legitimate authority over classified staff who are primarily female (several women have reported their first tough job was proving their worth to their female secretaries); they sit as the only female in work groups; their male colleagues often knowingly or unknowingly exacerbate their minority status; they go to conferences and have to choose whether to join the "boys" for a

beer; they are often placed in the situation of being the "spokeswoman" for the women's movement even if they have no fondness or association with it; they must tolerate the doubletakes of community people who say, "You're the principal!"; and they must meet the expectations of others that one simultaneously can be a woman and a boss.

Of course, all women do not experience these problems similarly. Women have different levels of consciousness about discriminatory behaviors and some women believe that "women's issues" should not play a part in how they perform their jobs. Yet, all the women I have talked with--regardless of their feminist ideology--can readily point out the difficulties inherent in being a woman and an administrator.

The isolation of women administrators is an important fact. The solution is that women must "bond." Male bonding occurs in many parts of the work world. (Although men who are the only males on a totally female staff often express a similar concern for the absence of same-sex workers.) Jesse Bernard described how women used to have many contacts in extended families in rural communities, they were "homosocial" (1976). The rise of industrialization, mobility, women's isolation in the nuclear family and women's acceptance of their inferiority have all worked to divide rather than unite women.

Some women still prefer to interact with their male colleagues. Some women accept the social designation of inferiority. Self-hatred is a common phenomenon of minority groups in this country; Uncle Toms, Tio Tacos, Uncle Tomahawks have been names assigned to individuals who deny their identity.

Perhaps Betty Crockers is the appropriate name for women who deny their female identity. In 1968, Cynthia Fuchs Epstein addressed the issue of women lawyers' self-hatred, yet in 1976 I noted some positive impact of the women's movement on female self-hatred. As one woman administrator aptly said:

> It used to be when I walked into a room full of men and only one woman I would tend to ignore her. Now when I walk into a similar situation the woman and I at least have eye-contact. There's too damn few of us women; we found out we need to support each other. If there were more of us we would be free to act just as folks, but because there are so few of us, there is the common bond of being women.

Women and men who are lonely at the top must find some emotional support. Spouses often play this role but support from same-sex peers is also valuable. In one school district in Oregon, a small group of women who were all new administrators met monthly and informally discussed their mutual problems. This informal group turned out to be a important sounding board for them as they struggled with their new identities. As one woman put it, "I could have survived on my own. I didn't need this group. Yet I found that I found solutions to my problems much more quickly by talking about them than I would have working it through by myself." Women and men who achieve positions of influence and responsibility often need an emotionally secure setting to handle the professional and personal conflicts inherent in the "isolation at the top."

Women who arrive in positions that are dominated by men will face unique problems. Yet I believe women who become administrators will not solve their problems or the problems for other women or men or girls and boys

by denying their female heritage. Shirley Chisholm eloquently addressed this issue; she said:

> It is simply a plain fact that the softness, the warmth, and the gentleness that are often used to stereotype us are positive human values . . .
>
> No, I'm not saying that we are inherently those things that the stereotypes impute that we are, but I am saying that because of the long-enforced roles that we have had to play, we should know by now that the values are good ones to hold. I am saying that by now we should have developed the capacity to not only hold them, but also to dispense them to those around us. This is the reason that we must free ourselves. This is the reason that we must become revolutionaries in the fashion of Christ, Gandhi, King, and the hundreds of other men and women who held those as the highest of human values. There is another reason. In working toward our own freedom, we can only allow our men to work towards their freedom from the trap of their stereotypes.

Educational leadership is only one symptom of social differentiation by sex; it is only one example where one's sex is evidently more important than one's competence, skill or interest. Sex differentiation is a complex and subtle process impacting upon each of us in all aspects of our lives. I am cautiously optimistic, however, that information, awareness, organization, political pressure and demands for change can alter the social biases about the valued attributes of our educational leaders. If sex is no longer a criterion perhaps competence will become the valued attribute. If, or when, we achieve equity in educational leadership I hope it makes a positive difference in the lives of students and the organization of schools. Schools should be better. I fervently hope female leadership can help.

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